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Secret report reveals U.S. is holding back real story on fall-out

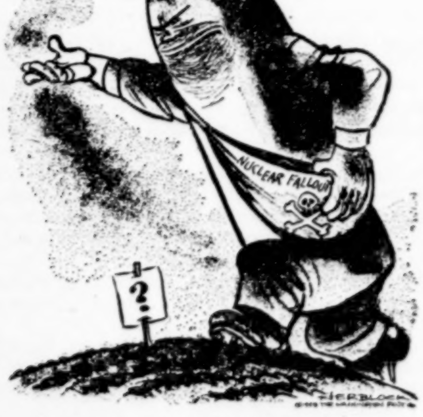
IT IS OFFICIAL U.S. policy to pour soothing syrup on the fears of its citizens worried about the danger involved in nuclear fallout. But in recent months there has been irrepressible evidence from various independent sources that the amount of radioactive strontium-90 absorbed by Americans in their food has increased dangerosuly. With each revelation government officials have minimized the danger, reassured the nation that it was only temporary and insisted that everything would be OK if only we remained calm. In some cases pessimistic or alarming reports on radiation have been withheld.

The issue was dramatized last week when Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N.M.), chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, released a hitherto secret report from the Defense Dept. It said that the concentration of strontium-90 on the surface of the U.S. was greater than in any other area in the world; and that the fall-out rate of radioactive particles was much more rapid than had been reported.

Current estimates calculate that half of the debris in the stratosphere resulting from atomic explosions falls to earth in seven years. Maj. Gen. Herbert B. Loper (ret.), author of the secret report, said his study showed that the time period was two years.

RECENT HIGH INCREASE: The report was sent to the Atomic Energy Commission in December, 1958. AEC officials sent a copy to the Joint Committee on Feb. 20, 1959, and followed a week later

(Continued on Page 9)



Herblock, Washington Post
The Good Earth

DO THEY WANT ANOTHER WHILE THE RUBBLE OF THE LAST ONE STILL HAUNTS BERLIN!
To the left, Hitler's bunker which became his fiery graveyard. In the center the old Reichstag which was Hermann Goering's fiery hoax. And the bent backs of Germans clearing, clearing. As the world yearns for peace we saturate the air with poison (see left) and our Japanese and German "allies" in high places call for more blood-letting (see below). Move that summit!

UNLESS THE PENTAGON AND THE AXIS PREVAIL

A summit in the summer? Begins to seem so

By Kumar Goshal

IN THE PRESIDENTIAL mountain retreat of Camp David in Maryland—the late Franklin D. Roosevelt's Shangri-la—President Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Macmillan on March 22 agreed to an East-West summit meeting late this summer. The meeting will follow a foreign ministers' conference tentatively set for May 11.

Macmillan's task of persuading Washington to a heads-of-government conference was made easier by earlier statements of both Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Khrushchev. In his March 16 speech to the nation, the President opened the door to a summit meeting—if a foreign ministers' conference showed sufficient progress.

Two days later, just as Macmillan arrived in the U.S., Khrushchev at a press conference said Moscow would accept the President's proposal for May 11. He added that the six-month deadline on his Berlin proposals made last November was not an ultimatum, as Washington thought. He said:

"After all, it takes nine months for a baby. So we thought six months would be a pretty good figure for other governments to reply to our proposal. Seven months would be fine, too."

JARRING NOTES: As Khrushchev agreed to a foreign ministers' meeting—which he has termed ineffectual—Macmillan was reported to have persuaded Eisenhower to hold a summit conference even if the lower echelon meeting proved fruitless. The two Western leaders were also understood to be prepared to accept Polish and Czechoslovak officials as observers but not as negotiators on an equal basis, as the Russians had proposed.

A draft of the Western proposals, which also included for the summit agenda such items as suspension of nuclear tests, disarmament and disengagement in Central Europe, was sent to Bonn, Paris and other NATO members for their approval. But, while prospects for a summit conference seemed brighter than ever before, many observers found it disquieting that the U.S. Army chose this moment to announce it will send to West Germany next month a second Redstone missile group, armed with nuclear warheads.

Even more disquieting was the news from Tokyo that Japanese Premier Nobusuke Kishi and Defense Secy. Shigejiro Ino were trying to persuade the parliament and the people to accept nuclear weapons as routine armament.

BETRAYAL CHARGED: Possession of

(Continued on Page 4)

FORAY SEEN AS ATTACK ON UNIONS

22 witnesses defy witch-hunt probe in Pittsburgh

By Louis E. Burnham

PITTSBURGH HAS HAD more than its share of inquisitions. Within the last several years it has endured visits from the Senate Internal Security subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a Smith Act trial, a state sedition trial and numerous deportation proceedings.

The House Committee may have thought it would administer the knockout blow when it moved in for its own second assault on civil liberties in the coal and steel center March 10-12. The Congressmen, however, found their intended victims not only ready to defend their rights but offering something of an offensive of their own.

Reps. Edwin E. Willis (D-La.), William Tuck (D-Va.) and Gordon Scherer (R-Ohio) conducted a full-dress spectacular, complete with three FBI informers, kleig lights and extensive radio, TV and press coverage. Aside from the informers, who were unveiled for the first time, 22 witnesses took the stand and all were decidedly unfriendly. Their attitude seemed to be summed up by Thomas Quinn, field organizer of the independent United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, who was warned that his answers might subject him to contempt-of-Congress proceedings. "I have no contempt for Congress," he said. "Just for this committee."

THREE-RING CIRCUS: Five officials of UE were called, including Thomas B. Wright, editor of the union newspaper, and Frank Donner, general counsel who represented the other union witnesses at the hearing. When one of the Congressmen implied there was something wrong with Donner, a prominent civil liberties attorney, representing the union, the lawyer said: "Should I have asked you before I took the job?" The hearing, he said, was "nothing but a three-ring circus for the purpose of promoting headlines."

In a leaflet distributed at plant gates prior to the Committee's arrival, the Independent Voters League pointed up the

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THE MAIL BAG

Well, you see . . .

VANCOUVER, CANADA

I thought you might be interested in the two headlines enclosed, both from the same newspaper, the Vancouver **Sun,** on the same day. One reads: "Russian visits to U.S. pave way to better understanding." The other: " 'Bomb Russia first' talk grows in U.S."

How can a person get any sense at all out of this sort of stuff? Do either of these "reporters" know what they are talking about? Viva la GUARDIAN.

B. J. Carr

We DO bounce

BATTLE CREEK, MICH.

Almost regret sending in my renewal after your attack on Soviet Union and defense of renegade Nagy, et al. You sure hit bottom that time.

Henry Irving

No "attack" on the U.S.S.R. was made, nor a "defense" of Nagy, but a strong plea against capital punishment and secret trials, plus an analysis of the indictment against Nagy which, to our mind, left a good deal unclear. Others, like reader Irving, disagreed with us but, like him, remained in the family because there's plenty to be done—even if we may at times disagree. Ed.

The word in Holland

ROTTERDAM, HOLLAND

Herewith enclosed my renewal. We have now been reading your paper and spreading it for nearly three years and we have never regretted, since we met your Ursula Wassermann in Rumania, having come in touch with you.

We agree with your stand on the main issues—Hungary, the Quemoy crisis, Pasternak. We enjoy your frank Mailbag and the remnants of vegetarian-socialism. We highly appreciate your "on the spot" information. Your book reviews call our attention to books quite unknown here and are therefore very precious to us. Our only objection is that sometimes you lack a sense of criticism in regard to the East European democracies and the Soviet Union (the school reform, for example).

Your paper even caught the attention of our apolitical but quite smart Fulbright teacher (I am a teacher of French at a senior high school) who, coming from Virginia, was quite astonished to find, far away in little Holland, somebody who was rather well-informed about the desegregation struggle in his native country.

The North Carolina "kissing case" had a huge interest here. All the pupils of our school (550) signed the petition and so did another 20 junior and senior high schools in Rotterdam!

Louis Boas

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Q. You don't have any fear about the future, then?

A. What is there to fear?

Q. Being blown up—

A. I fear a lot worse things might happen to us than being blown up.

—From an interview with Sen. Theodore F. Green by **U.S. News and World Report, 2/13.**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: I. B., Los Angeles.

For Asbury Howard

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Following is a letter I wrote to Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers, Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C.:

"As Attorney General, by now I am certain that many organizations and individuals have acquainted you with the facts in the case of Asbury Howard, savagely attacked by a posse of 40 Alabamans in the presence of police and later sentenced to the chain gang.

"The pictorial message conveyed by the now famous "Prayer Poster" is more eloquently moving then a million words. In the solemn face of a young Negro praying to his Maker, there is not a vestige of anger. "Lord, help all Americans to see that you intended human beings everywhere to have the same rights." In these words he simply invokes his constitutional right to **peacefully** petition for a redress of grievances.

"As a cabinet member, Mr. Rogers, you have the President's ear. Many problems beset him, but will you not impress upon him the necessity of publicly condemning Mr. Howard's sentence and persuading him to exert all authority within his power to have this victim released and his attackers punished?"

Muriel I. Symington

From the shoulder

LOMBARD, ILL.

The book reviews in issue of March 9 (Edgar Snow's **Journey to the Beginning** by Cedric Belfrage and Boris Morros' **My Ten Years as a Counter Spy** by James Aronson) were particularly pleasing. Not that I do not approve of praise where due, but often a reviewer is inclined to avoid hurting an author's feelings. Both of those were straight from the shoulder.

M. W. Sherwood

Leoncio Pena

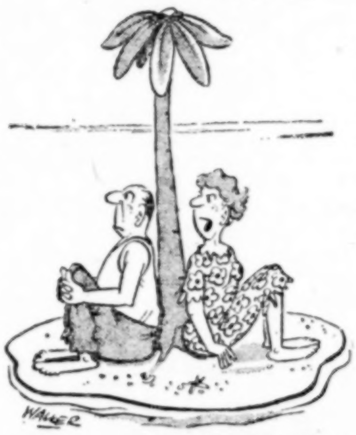
YONKERS, N.Y.

Cedric Belfrage's report on Spain (March 9) is the latest indication of the upsurge of anti-Franco activity. The enmities of the Civil War are being forgotten as a new generation takes up Spain's long struggle for freedom. As Belfrage points out, there are casualties in this increasingly severe struggle.

GUARDIAN readers should know that on Nov. 15, 1958, a veteran of the American Army (four years in the Pacific—wounded at Leyte) was sentenced to 20 years and six months in jail by a Special Military Tribunal in Madrid. This man, Leoncio Pena, is a comrade of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. He fought all through the war in Spain and then escaped to America to fight in our army for democracy in World War II. The "crime" for which he was given so savage a sentence was helping to organize workers for the National Day of Reconciliation which on May 5 last saw the greatest organized anti-Franco demonstrations since the fall of the Republic.

We think GUARDIAN readers and their friends will do all possible to support the cry for "Amnesty for All Political Prisoners" which is now echoing in Spain. Voices from America are particularly effective. The VALB have printed postcards addressed to our State Dept. and to the Spanish Embassy calling for amnesty. You can have all you want plus a printed report on the new situation in Spain and a fuller story on Pena by writing to the VALB, 49 E. 21st St., Room 405, New York City.

Harold Smith



London Daily Mirror

"It wouldn't have taken you a minute to slip down to the cabin for any knitting."

Our gal on Nite Beat

ST. PAUL, MINN.

The forum, Nite Beat, gave Dr. Annette Rubinstein, about two solid hours of radio time March 16 in Minneapolis on station WTCY. She answered the most pointed questions with a keenness and brilliance that must have surprised the listening night-owls. One asked: Would this Nite Beat be possible in Russia? As I recall it, she answered: Perhaps not yet, but do we have freedom of expression here in the U.S.? We see our civil liberties dangerously infringed upon, and our people are often jailed or persecuted, not for any overt act or crime, but merely for holding unpopular opinions and/or association with non-conformists to laws of doubtful justice. Nite Beat, she said, was quite an exception. Dr. Rubinstein gallantly supported a third party movement, preferably to be named Socialist rather than Labor.

The meeting in the Andrews Hotel the night before, sponsored by the GUARDIAN and Twin City Labor Forum, was well attended and aroused much interest. I am prompted to economize on recreation and help the GUARDIAN with another dollar.

Oscar Christensen

Mr. K. and Krupp

BRONX, N.Y.

This letter to the editor could be headed "Confused" or may properly belong in the "How Crazy Can You Get" Dept.

After reading about Alfried Krupp (Kumar Goshal's article, March 2) along comes Premier Khrushchev at Leipzig proposing a toast to this "gentleman."

You know sumpin'? I'm confused.

Maurice Blom

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN, its readers and indeed the whole progressive movement in America may shortly find themselves in the eye of an ideological hurricane occasioned by the writings and lectures of author-reporter Anna Louise Strong, following her recent experience in the Soviet Union.

Until full and particularized charges are made public against Miss Strong, and until she has had the opportunity to reply to them, fairness demands that judgment on the question of guilt be withheld by all. Whatever Miss Strong writes and says must be judged by its content and its effect, intended or unwitting, on the fight for peace, which depends for its success almost entirely on the growing strength and solidarity of the progressive movement in America.

With respect to all writers for the GUARDIAN, we have a single, basic yardstick, which is this: We stand for peace, peace and more peace—peace based on friendship and understanding with the Soviet Union. Without this peace no real gains can be realized for the people of America or anywhere else.

—Editorial in the Guardian, March 28, 1949

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-exile* · JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager* · JAMES ARONSON *Editor*

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REPORT TO READERS

Whose P.O. is it?

LATE COMMUNIQUES indicate that the Post Office Dept. is under raking fire from GUARDIAN readers and others in what we here call the War of the Little Red Hen. The cause of war is (or are) POD Forms 2153-X and 2154-X, which require would-be recipients of certain books and publications from other countries to state that they "have ordered, subscribed to, or desire the publications." The matter was aired in the March 2 GUARDIAN in connection with Dyson Carter's **The Big Brainwash,** against the entry of which the Post Office apparently set up barricades all along the Canadian border. At that time Corliss Lamont fired a salvo in the Mailbag and Ernest Seeman revealed that the P.O. had held up a copy of **The Ant and the Grasshopper** from Canada, moving him to comment how lucky he was that he hadn't ordered **The Little Red Hen.**

Now come reports of retaliatory actions all over the country, which we will excerpt herewith, after this brief note from a Chicago Commando who has been fighting a hand-to-hand battle against the withholding of foreign publications since 1951 or thereabouts. He says the practice reached an absurd level in 1955 when the P.O. held up Russian language material which had been ordered for the Army Intelligence School at the Presidio in San Francisco.

THE P.O. FORMS now at issue represent, in all likelihood, the result of such challenges to the policy of withholding foreign mail which the P.O. says it does in compliance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act. It is an educated guess that the withholding policy has resulted from attacks by the House Un-American Activities Committee on the P.O. for not stemming the heavy flow of foreign publications into the U.S. Whatever the reason for the present forms, their chief result has been to give people a long-needed target in the battle against censorship of mail from abroad.

From copies sent to us of letters of protest, here's what postmasters all over the U.S. are getting from GUARDIAN readers:

● From Hermosa Beach, Calif.: "Let me tell you this: I'm 75 years old and ever since I was old enough to read, no one, but NO ONE has told me what I can or cannot read, and you are not going to be the first . . . You list one title, to wit: "Protection of Motherhood." This is foreign political propaganda? Now I've heard everything!"

● From Dayton, Ohio, to the Postmaster at New York: "I and millions of my fellow Americans have been inundated in propaganda —business, economic, political, social and military—since I was knee-high to a grasshopper . . . Having successfully resisted brainwashing for so long a time, you may rest assured" . . . etc.

● From Astoria, N.Y.: "Seems to me, with this sort of thing, the Iron Curtain is in the U.S.A., not elsewhere . . . Rush whatever you're holding there in my name."

● From Jacksonville, Mo.: "Whether anyone, or any group, likes it or not, we do request that you do your duty in delivering the mail and allow us to be our own best judge as to what we should receive."

● From Nelson, Neb., (to the Postmaster at San Francisco who sent a form asking if the addressee wanted to receive "Women of China, No. 4, 1958"):

"Indeed I do! And every piece of printed matter etc., from abroad. Place my name on your list so the red (pardon the expression) tape of asking me about it will not have to be gone through again. That such inquiries should happen in Free U.S.A.!"

● From El Cajon, Calif., to the Postmaster at Buffalo, N.Y.: "What are our bird-brained bureaucrats afraid of?" (Sent Feb. 15; publication received Feb. 18).

AND FROM OLD SMOKY, in Tennessee, to us:

"You want to know how I kicked back at this rascality? Well, I sat down and ordered every children's book Northern Publishing House has listed—and told them to ship by airmail!"

Editorially, the St. Petersburg, Fla., **Times** said (after reading Corliss Lamont's letter): "This 'Big Brother is watching you' arrogance on the part of a government department which should be concerned only with delivering the mail is an intolerable affront to American institutions of freedom."

Finally, from California, the following helpful hint:

"Send your P.O. notices on foreign mail to Mr. Ernest Besig, American Civil Liberties Union, 503 Market St., San Francisco 5. He is glad to get as many as possible . . . He is putting up a fight about it."

And when the War of the Little Red Hen is won, remember where you saw the first Commando actions reported.

—THE GUARDIAN

A REPORT FROM THE FIGHTING FRONT

Why Algerians regard Atlantic Pact as the enemy

Zdravko Petchar, a hero of the Yugoslav resistance movement during World War II, recently spent a month with the freedom fighters in Algeria. A report of his experiences was published in Belgrade in Borba *and reprinted in French in the Algerian resistance weekly* El Moudjahid, *from which the following excerpts are taken:*

An Algerian nationalist with an automatic weapon. Algerian forces are well armed and have plenty of ammunition—all of it war booty. Their weapons include American and British as well as French arms. American-made planes and napalm bombs are being used against them.

THE BOMBING HAD CONTINUED for an hour when the first napalm bombs fell. There was a high burst of fierce flame and the fire spread with terrifying speed through the wooded hills. A stream of flame from a second bomb shut off our view like a curtain.

From all sides angry cries rang out: "America! America!" For this hell-fire came from the depots established under the pact which calls itself "Atlantic."

Every Algerian fighter can talk for hours about this; and if the former proprietors of the B-26's and the napalm bombs realized the depth of the chasm which these arms have opened between them and these people, they would perhaps react quite differently in witnessing how Atlantic Pact weapons are used against the Algerians . . .

THE ARMS OF THE ALGERIAN forces help explain their great self-confidence and optimism. In early days they had nothing but hunting rifles and revolvers, but now they are well armed . . .

Ready for action late one afternoon, the soldiers formed up in ranks, all well-shod with "boots manufactured in France for the Algerian soldiers," as they say jokingly. The officer saluted with his sword, then reviewed his troops: A mortar company with standard equipment, a platoon completely equipped with automatic weapons, squads with machine guns, soldiers with small grenade-throwers and bazookas.

The arms of this battalion consist of war booty, the variety of which is astonishing. One soldier is clad from head to foot in an American uniform bearing the letters "U.S."; his weapons also are American.

To check for myself their stubborn assertions that they are fighting not merely against France but against the Atlantic Pact, I carefully examined the weapons of each man and the equipment of the battalion. I found numerous American semi-automatic Garands and American carbines. The others are MAS-36's of French manufacture. The automatic-weapons platoon has French MAT-49's and PM-38'., and a fairly large number have American Thompson sub-machine guns and British Stens; there are also French FM-24/29's and American Browning automatic rifles. Most of the machine guns are American; and the others are French and British. To these must be added the bazookas and many American Colt .45 automatic pistols.

Despite the diversity of their armaments, the Algerian fighters do not complain of any munitions shortage: they have enough, for this is equally a matter of war booty. . . .

OVER THE WHOLE of a large area, the civilian population is ordered to evacuate and withdraw to what is called the "protection" of the authorities, or rather to the fortified garrisons of the French army in Algeria. For many days, planes drop leaflets urging peasants to abandon once again their ancestral homes, their fields and harvests. . . .

The Algerian peasant ignored the call to leave his land—a call dropped from planes in the name of an authority which he no longer recognizes. He stayed where he was and went on with his work, ready to retire in the event of a brief flare-up of fighting and save his possessions. It had been that way so many times before: this kind of life has become a reality to which he was accustomed.

American-made bombers came in waves from Atlantic Pact bases. In the course of a day several squadrons concentrated on an area as large as a big town and its environs. They were accompanied by French pursuit planes which completed with machine-guns the work of the high-explosive and incendiary bombs.

A FEW DAYS AGO I happened upon what was left of a village after one of these so-called "mopping-up" and "pacification" operations. The huts were blazing from the incendiary attack. Machine-gun bursts from the air had slaughtered an isolated herd of sheep.

Panting men, women and children ran toward the wood where we were sheltered. Until evening the aerial attack of fire and flame did not cease. Half-crazed mothers held their children in their arms, the men looked after the livestock that still remained, and the children, clinging to the long pockets of our battle-dress, dragged after the soldiers through the thorny undergrowth that tore at their legs. Artillery fire began to fall on the mountain path along which we were advancing. Incendiary grenades set on fire the bark of the cork-oaks and the dry grass. The flames had spread to the path and it was necessary to escape quickly from this hell to reach some place for the night where one could breathe.

That is what the "pacification" of Algeria is like. And that is why, in the heart of a people, the last ties are breaking which could have attached them to any just, comprehensive policy offered by France.

DISILLUSION IN THE 5TH REPUBLIC

Behind the comeback of the Left in France's municipal elections

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

ALTHOUGH A COMEBACK of the French Left was expected, the real surprise here is that it was so swift and so sweeping. In some areas the Communist Party made spectacular gains in this month's municipal vote. The CP received:

- 41.08% of the vote in two large districts of Paris, as against 29.7% last November;
- 29.1% of the over-all Paris vote (19.9% last November);
- 35% in Marseilles (27.1% in November);
- 43.96% in Le Havre (31.6% in November). The CP, formerly in control in Le Havre, lost the administration to the Socialists by a vote of 19 to 18 in the town council.

Against these gains, Soustelle's neo-Gaullist Union of the New Republic (UNR) lost heavily in the large cities:

- 60% of its November votes in Lille;
- 30% in Toulouse;
- 70% in industrial St. Etienne, where Lucien Neuwirth, a key figure in the Algiers putsch, was a candidate;
- 45% in Nantes;
- 65,000 votes in Paris;
- 22,000 in Lyons, where Jacques Soustelle hoped for the mayor's post (he ran a poor third).

OTHER RESULTS: In the smaller towns and in the villages, the results were less spectacular but often as significant.

In Louviers, in Normandy, the candidate supported by Pierre Mendés-France defeated the UNR deputy who in November had ousted the Radical leader from his Assembly seat.

The town council of Déols (Indre), site of one of the largest U.S. Army bases in Europe, turned CP for the first time.

In Chateau-Chinon (Niévre), Democratic and Socialist Resistance Union (UDSR) leader Francois Mittérand, who in November had lost his deputy's mandate, won the municipality on a common UDSR-CP list. Sole adversary was the "orthodox" Mollét SP candidate.

Among larger towns taken over by a united left-wing city council are Grasse, Carcassonne, Séte, Niort, and Evreux.

The formation of left-wing unity lists—ranging from CP-Autonomous (anti-Gaullist) Socialist all the way to CP-SP-Mendésist Radical alliances—presented one of the major interests of the election.

POPULAR FRONTS: Since the Right itself insisted on the majority electoral rule (victory to the absolute majority in the first round, to the relative majority in the run-off elections) in all townships below 120,000, popular front type election lists sprang up as early as the first ballot. Many new alliances were formed between the two rounds.

Wherever the SP participated in these popular front lists, it did so against national party directives. The party leadership sponsored alliances to its right only, with the pro-Catholic Popular Republican Movement (MPR), the reactionary Independents, and all the way to Soustelle's UNR.

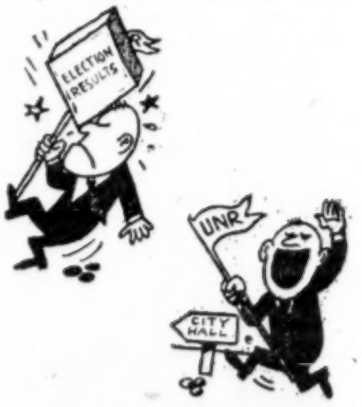
The elections brought home two major lessons on these two counts:

- The Popular Front alliances won townships in less than half the places where they had been set up (usually because the Right was too strong in the first place and turned out in force for fear of a popular front victory). But in almost all cases, the united left-wing list gained votes beyond the totals the parties in it had obtained singly the previous Sunday. In cities like Montpellier, Grenoble, Brest and Angers, though the Left did not win, their gains were substantial. It is too early to talk about a nationwide popular front wave. But CP, SP and Radical voters, as **Le Monde** noted, "were nowhere reluctant to mingle their ballots." The municipal elections saw a timid beginning of new effective unity on the Left, over and against the SP leadership, for the first time in 12 years.
- The SP not only lost votes regionally to its own dissident anti-Gaullist Autonomous Socialists. Wherever it joined a right-wing, anti-popular front alliance in the run-off elections, two things generally happened: Part of the SP vote went to the extreme Left; and the SP—right-wing alliance drew fewer votes than the total of the single lists in the first ballot.

In the Paris suburbs alone, CP and United left wing municipal councils are up from 28 to 32. SP municipal councils down from 22 to 13.

DISILLUSIONMENT: That de Gaulle and his Fifth Republic in nine months of government disillusioned many voters was apparent before the elections. Austerity measures—mere economy drops in the state's vast military expense bucket—brought on such discontent that the government later eased some of them.

The big underlying disappointment was Algeria. Just as hope of peace in Algeria had fired the Gaullist triumph last November, the dwindling of that hope was the silent cause for many voters' new turn to the Left. Against a determined right-wing effort to "de-politicalize" the municipal elections, more voters than usual in balloting of this type took cognizance of the situation and made a political choice.



Kambe in Humanité, Paris
"CHARGE!"

CONTRADICTIONS: The results of the elections create a double paradox: For one thing, they accentuate the gap between public opinion and the House of Parliament representation where the CP, once again the country's strongest party and on the rise, holds ten seats as against the declining UNR's 188.

Secondly, the new Senate to be elected in April by a vast electoral college where municipal councillors play a main part, is likely—for the first time in anybody's memory—to be much more to the left than the House. What with the new Constitution giving the Senate a more important role to play than the House, this situation will not smooth the functioning of the Fifth Republic's institutions.

TERROR CONTINUES IN NYASALAND

Britain's rigidity on African revolts stirs protests in Commonwealth

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

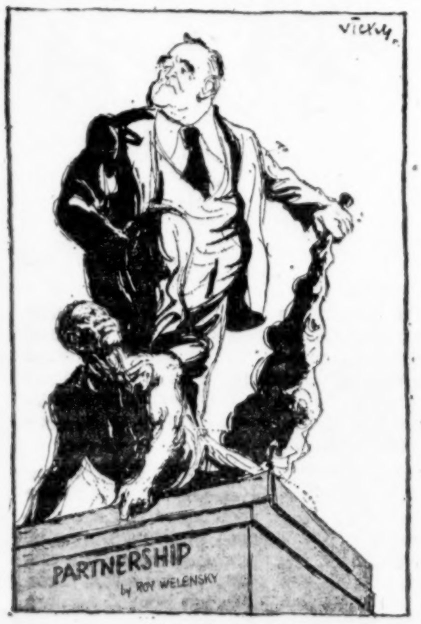
WITH THE SPIRIT of revolt spreading across Africa from Nyasaland, Britain's rigid position is brewing trouble throughout the Commonwealth. The critical barrage by Laborites was only making the government more adamant in its support of Sir Roy Welensky, white supremacist premier of the Central African Federation. Yet it could not help being concerned by the "propaganda" broadcast from Moscow and in the Swahili language from Cairo, and by the rumblings from imperial outposts.

In Australia the forcing of Federation upon Central Africa was generally seen as a mistake. Nationalists in Malaya and Singapore strongly condemned the arrest of Nyasaland African Congress leaders. Public opinion in India, aroused against "barbarities" in Nyasaland, was being mobilized by the Indian Assn. for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

Even in S. Africa, the **Natal Witness** failed to see "a single shred of evidence" for the Nyasaland "massacre plot," and the equally skeptical **Cape Times** said that problems in Nyasaland and the rest of Africa could "not be solved by clapping African Congress leaders into gaol." But meanwhile S. African Defense Minister Erasmus, huddling in London with British Defense Minister Sandys, was reportedly proposing a "baby NATO" of white-dominated African countries to hold down African nationalism.

SOLIDARITY: Nigeria, whose northern section attained regional self-government March 16, was strongly critical. In Ghana the ruling Convention Peoples Party voted $28,000 for dependents of the 44 African "martyrs" and the jailed NAC leaders in Nyasaland, to defend whom three lawyers were to be sent. March 13 was declared a "national day of mourning."

Prime Minister Nkrumah's organ the **Evening News** told Welensky "and his gang of imperialist bloodhounds" that "their days are numbered in Africa." Information Minister Kofi Baako warned Welensky that the forcing of Federation would be "a fatal mistake—no threats and violence will stop this march to freedom." The steering committee of the All-African Peoples Conference pushed up its meeting from June to April to consider practical aid to Nyasaland.



Vicky in New Statesman, London

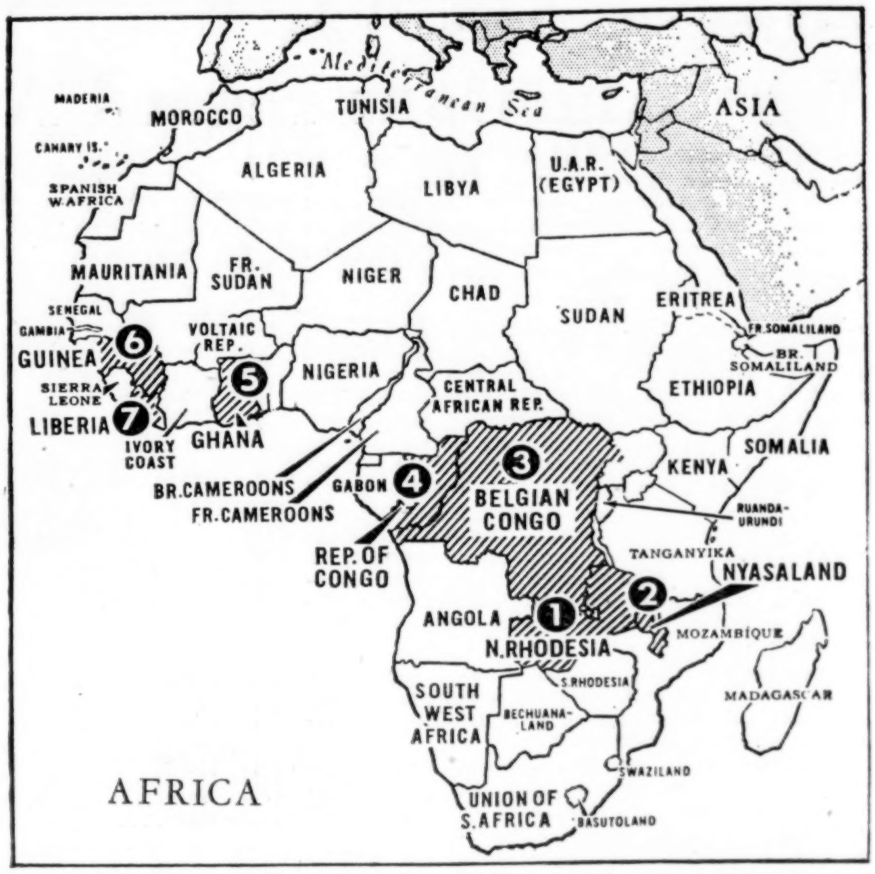
At a press conference in Cairo, Kenya leader James Ochwata demanded an end to the "state of emergency" in his country, release of all political prisoners including Jomo Kenyatta, and immediate removal of military bases designed for use against African nationalists. He said the "Mau Mau conspiracy" had been "invented" to stop African political movements and get Kenyatta out of the way.

'RUSSIAN PLOT': The Nyasaland "massacre plot" having convinced no one, Welensky produced a "Russian plot": Central Africans at the recent Accra Conference were accused of "making contact" with Soviet observers there. Kamyama Chiume, Nyasaland leader who attended the conference and is now in London, told the GUARDIAN: "The Russians were in fact very quiet at Accra; the biggest delegation there was from the U.S.A., and they were doing such a heavy job of lobbying that we were trying to run away from them."

In N. Rhodesia the Governor, Sir Arthur Benson, revealed a plot by the Zambia African Congress to "wreck" the forthcoming elections with the aid of witch-doctors. (In these elections for an overwhelmingly white Legislative Council, 25,000 Africans were qualified to vote according to the London **Times**; the Zambia Congress called for a boycott, and less than 8,000 Africans have registered.)

On March 11 Kenneth Kaunda and all his fellow-leaders of the ZAC were arrested. Kaunda had asked the Governor's permission, in view of the formation of a white "security legion" in N. Rhodesia, to form an African Legion "to defend us against the trigger-happy white community who are already so well armed."

GOODWILL BY TERROR: By March 15, 447 Nyasaland leaders were jailed in Nyasaland and S. Rhodesia, with some 500 more African political prisoners in S. Rhodesia. "The major question" (London **Observer**) "is what to do with them," since "the government dare not allow them merely to resume their normal life." Over 30 NAC leaders were said to be still at large and "wanted."



ONE SLOGAN STIRS A CONTINENT: 'AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS'
Nyasaland (2) is in the forefront now in the freedom fight

Troops from S. Rhodesia were reported "settling down" in Nyasaland with a special newspaper being published for them. Together with police detachments they were on "goodwill missions" covering every community in the country, to "show the flag" to local chiefs whose authority (as against the NAC) it was hoped to restore. The **Observer** correspondent reported "some patrols" setting fire to African huts, others "taking away for screening" all the males of a community and detaining "bad eggs." The **Times** reported a "land and air search for saboteurs" and said troops were "facing spears and stones and the non-cooperation of sullen villagers." Federation Law Minister Greenfield said that "some" NAC leaders were sleeping on planks in jail "as is the custom in African prisons."

In S. Rhodesia the introduction of an Unlawful Organizations Bill, which would permanently ban African political groups, brought an explosion from the Archbishop of Central Africa at Bulawayo. Calling it "characteristic of the Hitler regime," he said it could "only be termed scandalous." The weak opposition party, while "frightened" and "shocked" by the implications, said it would support the bill under certain conditions.

A summer summit?

(Continued from Page 1)

nuclear weapons, the Kishi government insists, would not violate Japan's constitution, which prohibits means of aggressive war. This has profoundly shocked the Japanese press and people who carry vivid memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and their byproducts.

The daily **Asahi** (circulation 4,000,000) accused the government of betraying the national will. In reply the Kishi administration has suggested an abrogation of its pledge never to send troops abroad again.

Distinctly unentnusiastic about the summit are such opponents of a nuclear test ban as the Pentagon, the Atomic Energy Commission, Secy. of State Dulles and French President de Gaulle, who is determined to explode a French bomb in the Sahara. They have been encouraged by interpretations of the Argus Project—the detonation last September of three U.S. nuclear bombs 300 miles above the earth—which reportedly spread in space a blanket of radiation over most of the earth.

Scientists are still not sure what has happened to the blanket. Contrary to U.S. claims that the project had gone undetected, Soviet scientists recorded suspicions of the test explosions by locating a zone of high energy particles at comparatively low altitudes above the earth's surface. Nevertheless, an "interpretive" article by J. M. Roberts of the **Associated Press** saw in the Argus Project the possibilities of continuing tests to produce a "clean" bomb.

RELUCTANT BONN: The strongest opposition to a summit meeting could be expected from Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer. In a remarkably candid interview given to London **Daily Express** correspondent Sefton Delmer, East German CP leader Walter Ulbricht said that "Adenauer was playing for time to complete his rearmament" so that he can "stage a provocation to war . . . when it suits him."

To crush German militarism "before it gets any stronger," Ulbricht urged a peace treaty with both Germanys, gradual disarmament in Central Europe, acceptance of the Oder-Neisse line as Germany's eastern boundary and Western disavowal of Bonn's militaristic aims.

But there were also encouraging signs of increasing support for a bomb-test ban and a heads-of-government conference. Dr. Hans Bethe, Cornell physicist and a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee, said that the U.S. nuclear explosions in space should not prevent agreement to ban tests.

OTHERS SPEAK UP: At a scientists' conference at the California Institute of Technology on March 20, Dr. A. R. J. Grosch, space program manager for Intl. Business Machines, decried the entire U.S. missile program. Dr. Louis J. Ridenour, of the missile development and research department of Lockheed Aircraft Corp., said the missile program was following America's "traditional economy of waste."

Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on March 16 urged negotiations for a troop pull-back in Germany where "both sides, each bristling with nuclear weapons, are eyeing one another balefully." This, he said, would reduce "the possibility of war, especially accidental war."

Fulbright's suggestion was echoed in the program of gradual reunification of Germany offered by the West German Social Democratic Party on March 19. The step-by-step program envisaged an East-West German confederation to start with, withdrawal of all foreign troops and nuclear weapons from Central Europe, eventual elections for a unified Germany whose two parts would simultaneously withdraw from NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Although Adenauer harshly criticized the Social Democrats' program, the Free Democrats, a third opposition party, offered a similar plan on March 20.

Most encouraging news was contained in the report of a nation-wide **N.Y. Times** spot-check of public opinion. Although it revealed much apathy and ignorance of the issues involved, the report found "widespread support for trying to negotiate a settlement" of East-West issues "at a heads-of-government meeting."

Philadelphians to hear Goshal

KUMAR GOSHAL, Foreign Affairs editor of the National GUARDIAN, will speak on "The German Crisis" Sat. eve., March 28, in Philadelphia. The gathering, sponsored by Philadelphia friends of the Guardian, will be held at 5730 Virginian Road at 8:30. Admission is free. Friends are invited.

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ANTI-CANCER AGENT OR HOAX?—II

The Krebiozen controversy: The case against the drug

By Robert E. Light

(Second of two articles)

A Matter of Life or Death

ACTRESS GLORIA SWANSON IS A STRONG KREBIOZEN SUPPORTER
Here she chats with John W. Davies, head of a group seeking a test

THE CONTINUING AGITATION for acceptance of Krebiozen as an effective anti-cancer drug has irked many of the nation's leading scientists. The American Cancer Society says that the clamor has "an unsettling effect on cancer patients, their families and friends, who question whether the extraordinary claims about Krebiozen are true." To the ACS the question "can only be settled by a thoroughly objective study such as the one the Natl. Cancer Institute has indicated it is willing to make."

But the Krebiozen proponents, led by Dr. Andrew C. Ivy, are unwilling to accept the procedure for a study as set down by the Institute—and therein lies the current impasse.

Discussion of a study came about after Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) indicated his interest with a speech on the Senate floor. He brought together Institute officials and Dr. Ivy and offered his services in any test they developed.

PROPOSED RULES: The Institute, a division of the U.S. Public Health Service, proposed the formation of a committee of five independent physicians, with Dr. Ivy to serve as their consultant. First, the committee would examine case histories of patients in the files of the Krebiozen Research Foundation. In the records it would look for: (1) cancer diagnosis confirmed by microscopic examinations; (2) detailed and documented evidence that cancer had disappeared or its progress had been arrested in a significant number of patients for a significant length of time; (3) evidence that no other treatment had been given patients during the administration of Krebiozen; (4) details of dosage and frequency of treatment; (5) laboratory records before, after and during Krebiozen treatment.

From the evidence the committee would decide whether Krebiozen deserved further tests; and if it did, how the tests should be performed. The Institute also reserved the right to make public its findings.

To the Institute the procedure was standard for evaluation of alleged anti-cancer agents. It would be accepted by the scientific community and it would prove or disprove objectively the value of Krebiozen.

IVY'S PROPOSALS: But to Ivy there seemed too much prejudice against Krebiozen to expect unbiased results by standard procedures. He counter-proposed a test method which he said would be truly objective.

Ivy would set up a three-man "arbitration-type" committee consisting of himself, a physician to be selected by the Institute, and a bio-statistician mutually acceptable to both. The committee would undertake immediately a "double-blind" test in which neither the doctor nor the patient would know if Krebiozen was being administered. This would be accomplished by the use of two or more sets of identical ampules; one set to be filled with Krebiozen and the others with light mineral oil. Each set would be labelled "A," "B," "C"; the key to the code to be kept in a vault by Sen. Douglas.

Ivy and the other physician would treat and observe the patients and maintain detailed records of each case. At the end of the study Ivy would conclude which group had received Krebiozen. His findings would be checked against the code in Douglas' safe and published in a medical journal.

DEADLOCKED: Ivy argued that his method was more objective than the Institute's because it would test whether or not the man most familiar with the drug could identify its results against spontaneous cancer regressions. He asked: "Who is going to guarantee the absolute independence or lack of prejudice of each of the members of the so-called independent committee?" Of the five physicians suggested by the Institute, he said he knew only three and only one of these, he was certain, "would stand for the right regardless of pressure."

The Institute insisted on its procedure and was affirmed by the Natl. Advisory Cancer Council. Negotiations for a test ended.

On March 9 the American Cancer Society published a background paper on Krebiozen in which it detailed many of the medical profession's objections. A special report in **AMA News** presented the case for the American Medical Assn. Both agreed that Ivy's "arbitration committee" test "could admit bias and would not be acceptable to the scientific community."

CONFUSION CONFOUNDED: They argued that his procedure: (1) did not permit evaluation of Krebiozen case histories for a preliminary evaluation; (2) would not establish whether physicians generally can obtain the same results, since only Ivy would administer Krebiozen; (3) did not provide clear-cut standards of measuring and defining results. "On a pure guesswork basis," Mefford R. Runyon, executive vice president of ACS, said, "he would have a 50-50 chance of being right." He added that Ivy's procedure "would only further confound an already thoroughly confused situation."

AMA News asked: "Why couldn't Dr. Ivy set up specific directions to be followed by a committee of selected doctors when they give the test? Would any group of physicians—knowing full well the need for a cancer drug—report negatively on a cancer remedy if it were effective?" It answered its own questions: "It is ridiculous to believe that a group of physicians, who naturally would be under the national spotlight while testing Krebiozen, would give a false report."

OTHER COMPLAINTS: On issues other than testing, the ACS was highly critical of Krebiozen advocates. It found a contradiction in the demand for spending about $500,000 of public funds for tests, when the owners of Krebiozen have stated they expect to license or sell the drug for profit. Other points it found suspect included:

- No chemical analysis has been made of Krebiozen in powder form. An Illinois laboratory analysis of the drug dissolved in mineral oil reported only a vague, general description. The report said: "A further study of the product is required before a more definitive statement about its chemical structure can be made." No study has been done.
- Dr. Stefan Durovic, discoverer of Krebiozen, has never revealed his method of extracting the drug from the blood streams of horses. In addition, Durovic's reputation as a researcher is not established because he has never published articles on any subject in a medical journal during his ten years in this country.
- When Ivy repeated Durovic's experiment to extract Krebiozen from horses in 1957, he obtained ten times the amount of the drug from the same number of animals. And because there is no detailed chemical analysis of Durovic's drug, there is no way of knowing whether the substance Ivy extracted is the same as that obtained by Durovic.
- Ivy and his associates have fought a propaganda battle. They have tried to find public support for Krebiozen **before** establishing the drug with the medical profession. They have granted newspaper, radio and television interviews and sent releases to the press and obtained support from men in Congress to prove the efficacy of their drug. This is the reverse of standard ethical practice.

NEED FOR CAUTION: Physicians who generally disagree with the AMA's conservative stand have told the GUARDIAN they believe Ivy should accept the Institute's test procedure as a way to end the controversy. Because much about cancer is not yet known, they argue, many alleged cures or treatments for the disease are put forward. Some come from scientists who are later proved wrong, and others from charlatans looking for profit.

The latter usually set up foundations to solicit funds for "research and development." Cancer patients and relatives of victims are easy prey. In the absence of a definitive cure, the charlatans prosper handsomely.

It is a responsibility of the medical profession to protect the public from quacks. Methodology for testing drugs established by the Institute, they say, is a scientific way of separating the true from the false.

IMPASSE REMAINS: Investigators, say the physicians consulted by the GUARDIAN, have a right to check the records before agreeing to a test. Many cancer patients turn out to be incorrectly diagnosed. And cancer has a way of disappearing for some time only to recur years later. Chemical analysis and manufacturing processes should also be revealed. The Durovics' patent rights could be established in court if Krebiozen was proved to be effective.

If Krebiozen is a true remedy, the doctors argue, it cannot be suppressed any more than penicillin could be hidden if it were just discovered. They say no physician on an investigating committee would turn in a false report on a drug that could save millions. Ivy's insistence on serving on the committee is like seating a defense attorney on the jury.

There seems to be no way out of the impasse. Ivy summed up the issue: "Suspicion seems to exist on both sides of this matter."

But it is likely that the suspicion about Krebiozen will remain until a test is performed by an accepted agency.

PROTESTS URGED

Diamond Kimm ordered deported to Korea

THE U.S. COURT of Appeals, Ninth Circuit, has just handed down an adverse decision in the case of Diamond Kimm, Korean-born printer, who has been living in the U.S. since 1928. In a 15-page opinion the three-judge court affirmed a deportation order of a lower court. Kimm now faces exile to South Korea and probable death.

Defense attorney William Samuels has announced he will seek a rehearing.

Rose Chernin, executive director of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the organization which has been defending Kimm for the past ten years, stated: "It is unthinkable to permit Mr. Kimm to be deported to Syngman Rhee's South Korea. Death awaits him there. According to the latest news reaching our country the new civil laws passed in South Korea make any opposition to Syngman Rhee punishable by death. Mr. Diamond Kimm, as editor of the **Korean Independence,** is an avowed opponent of Syngman Rhee."

The Committee urges letters to the Immigration & Naturalization Service to drop the deportation order. All communications should be addressed to:

Richard C. Hoy, District Director, Immigration & Naturalization Service, 458 So. Spring St., Los Angeles, Calif.

BEGINNING IN THE GUARDIAN NEXT WEEK

The Central Intelligence Agency
and its bag of dirty tricks

A three-part series which will lay out the composition, operations and the mischief of the super-secret agency.

DON'T MISS IT—ORDER EXTRA COPIES FOR FRIENDS

A PLEA FOR PAKISTAN POET FAIZ

'... The distance of man's pain'

By Albert E. Kahn

POET FAIZ AHMED FAIZ
"Sorrow and anger are not enough"

ONE OF THE WONDERFUL experiences I had while recently visiting the Soviet Union was getting to know the Pakistan poet, Faiz Ahmed Faiz.

It was in Moscow that I read for the first time English translations of some of the magnificent poems that have caused Faiz to be widely regarded as the greatest living poet in the Urdu language. At the Tashkent Conference of writers from nearly 40 Asian and African countries, I was told, Faiz had played an outstanding role in helping bridge ideological differences in the common cause of freedom, national independence, and peace.

It seems to me I felt almost immediately on meeting Faiz that he was one of the most remarkable human beings I had ever known. There are some individuals whose innate nobility asserts itself in their very mien. Faiz is such a person. He radiates gentleness, sensitivity, humor, compassion.

These qualities so predominate in him that I found it difficult at first to visualize this small soft-spoken brown-skinned man with glowing dark eyes as a Colonel in the Indian Army in the Second World War, the militant chairman of the Pakistan Federation of Trade Unions, and the editor of the **Pakistan Times** whose trenchant attacks on colonialism had been quoted in a score of tongues.

WORD AND DEED: No less incongruous seemed the fact that this gentle poet, for fighting both in word and deed against human suffering, had served a five-year prison term on a "communist conspiracy" charge and had faced the posibility of a death sentence during a considerable part of that time.

It was my good fortune that Faiz and I were both staying at the Hotel Ukraine, and I saw much of him during my month in Moscow. Frequently we ate together in the hotel dining room and such was his affability and charm that of all the interesting visitors he was clearly the favorite with the waitresses, who vied to serve him. On November 7, Faiz and I stood side by side in the Red Square while an endless torrent of Soviet citizens streamed by, singing, cheering, waving banners and flowers, in celebration of their Revolution. Strolling along the streets of Moscow in the early winter air, we talked of our wives and children and of the day when they might all meet . . . Comradeship blossoms quickly with a man like Faiz. We were soon close friends, and by the end of my stay I felt toward him as toward a dear brother.

IN PRISON AGAIN: For Faiz's friends, however, those days were foreboding. During Faiz's absence from Pakistan, General Ayub Khan had established a military dictatorship. Progressives were being rounded up on all sides. There was every likelihood that if Faiz returned, he would be imprisoned. Some of his friends urged him to stay abroad, at least temporarily. But quietly Faiz said that he was going home. "Even in prison there is much to learn," he told me with a smile. He departed for Pakistan a few days before I returned to the United States.

Word has since reached me that shortly after his arrival in Lahore, Faiz was summarily arrested and thrown into jail.

"Under the 'Safety Act'," a friend writes to me from Pakistan, "there is no trial, no redress, no limit to detention, no provision for Faiz's family . . ."

The novelist, Judah Waten, whom I met in Moscow as a member of an Australian writers' delegation, sends word from Melbourne: "I have heard that Faiz was taken into custody . . . We are organizing a protest to the Pakistan High Commissioner."

There are reports of indignant protests in other lands.

"Sorrow and anger," writes the Soviet author, Boris Polevoi, "are not enough."

As an American, I feel a special responsibility toward Faiz. If it is the regime of General Ayub Khan that has imprisoned Faiz, it is U.S. dollars and guns that keep this military dictator in power. How many of those Americans, I wonder, who have expressed clamorous concern for the Russian poet Pasternak will now speak out against the jailing of the Pakistan poet Faiz? Last year, Robert Frost, T. S. Eliot, and Ernest Hemingway helped secure the release of poet Ezra Pound from a hospital for the criminally insane and the dismissal of his treason indictment for acting as an Axis propagandist during World War II. What American writers will now come to the aid of Faiz?

'WE WHO WERE MURDERED': One afternoon in Moscow, when a group of Faiz's friends were gathered in a room at the Hotel Ukraine, I asked him to recite the poem, "We Who Were Murdered," which he had written in prison on the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. We sat hushed and motionless as, first in Urdu and then in English, Faiz's quiet voice summoned up the agony and heroism of the Rosenbergs in lines that many in Pakistan and India know by heart—

To the blighted tree of the gallows we were led
By longing for the blossoms of your bright lips;
To death in the dim alleyway our path was lighted
By the fiery candles of your hands . . .

We walked while the night of injustice blackened the road
As far as our feet could move,
Breathing a song, hearts fired by a love
Whose anguish gave testimony to your beauty . . .

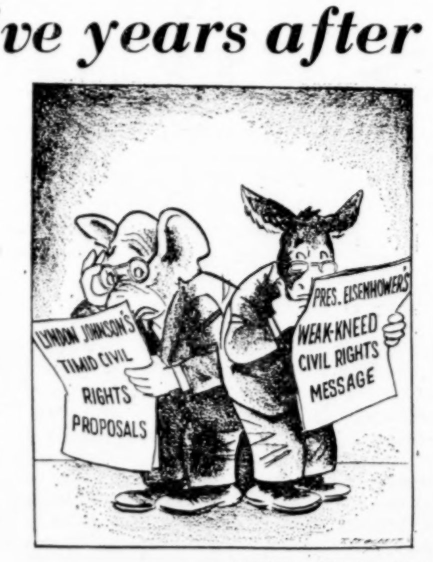
From this dread place where men now bleed,
New bands of lovers will lift our banner once again
And start out on the quest.
Our steps have cut the distance of their pain,
And losing life we find for them
An embrace for all the world—
We who were murdered in the dark street.

Faiz, too, is one of those whose steps have cut the distance of man's pain. Shall we remain silent in this hour of his ordeal?

DIXIE AND THE SUPREME COURT

Integration five years after

By Vincent Hallinan


LYNDON JOHNSON'S TIMID CIVIL RIGHTS PROPOSALS
PRES. EISENHOWER'S WEAK-KNEED CIVIL RIGHTS MESSAGE

Stockett, Afro-American
"That guy must have been looking over my shoulder."

IT IS NOW about five years since the Supreme Court rendered its celebrated decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools. Some time thereafter, I suggested the political nature of the Court's ruling and pointed out that, in the past, the same tribunal had handed down decisions on the racial issue which were at least as vigorous and principled.

What had become of these previous rulings? Without the active backing of the national government, and under local force, fraud and evasion they had become dead letters. Are the more recent judgments destined for the same fate?

The world outside the Southern states, that is to say outside the region most directly involved, has reacted with odium to the statements and devices of Faubus, Byrnes and their associates in bigotry. It would be comforting to believe that this sentiment will make the Court's decrees effective and lead to the release of the Negro from his political, economic and social ghetto.

LETTER AND SPIRIT: Unhappily, there is no evidence that it is doing so. The paratroopers at Little Rock remained long enough to vindicate the dignity of the central government. They were sent to do this and not to defend the liberties of colored American citizens. Their presence disclosed more petulance than principle on the part of the executive. Its chief result was to instruct the Dixiecrat politicians to foresake such open defiance of the national government and to return to their old devices of evasion.

When the 15th Amendment to the Constitution was invoked to protect colored Southerners, Sen. James George of Mississippi asked: "Why apologize and evade? We have been very diligent and astute in violating the spirit of such amendments and statutes as would lead the Negro to believe himself the equal of the white man. And we shall continue to conduct ourselves in that way."

IT WORKS: This is the sort of strategem which the South is now employing to circumvent the Supreme Court decisions. Massive resistance has gone underground. It is, nonetheless, effective. It should be sufficient illustration of this to point to one circumstance, namely: In the ten Southern states, there are 2,300,000 Negro children entitled to be integrated into the public schools under the Supreme Court decree. Only 163 have actually been accepted, each under a specific court order. In five of the states in question not one Negro child has been received into a white school.

It is easy to foresee the result of this procedure: the handful of heroic colored children will be gradually pushed out and none will replace them. The Democratic Party is having its turn at running the government. Once established and with its Dixiecrat wing in full sweep, its position on racial integration will make even the feeble gestures of the Republicans seem real.

Then, it will be asked, is the battle lost? It is not necessary to answer the question. This is not a battle but a war. It has many fronts. There is one on which we can now gain a singular victory If Faubus inspired the White Citizens' Councils of the South, he alarmed and disturbed the North.

WHAT CAN BE DONE: The California legislature now has an FEPC law before it which has the support of the new governor, Pat Brown, and will probably pass. A California socialist group, United Socialist Action (USA), of which I am state chairman, is campaigning for an anti-discrimination housing ordinance in the city of Berkeley. We obtained 2,367 verified signatures to put the issue on the ballot, far more than the 1,459 required. We could have got many more. SLATE, the University of California progressive student organization, which has the support of 45% of its 20,000 students, has given the ordinance unanimous support.

USA is a loosely-organized movement which offers its support to all progressive causes and which calls upon them to support its own socialist endeavors. We are not concerned with prestige nor credits and are quite willing to remain in the background while doing whatever we can to contribute to the success of the issue involved. The Berkeley election will be held on April 7.

How you can act for peace

ACT FOR PEACE groups in six cities will climax a week of activities with walks and caravans around the perimeters of hydrogen bomb "areas of destruction" on Saturday, March 28.

All-day walks will be undertaken that day from Waltham, Quincy and Melrose to a silent meeting on Boston Common. Visits to Congressmen, street meetings and leaflet distribution are also planned.

There will be an all-day motorcade around New York and five walks into the city on Friday, March 27; and a mass meeting at 41st St. and Sixth Av. at noon on March 28.

In Philadelphia a motorcade will also circle the perimeter of the blast area, and in Chicago poster-parades, auto caravans and public pamphlet sales were scheduled. Demonstrations on March 28 were also planned for Denver and the intercontinental ballistic missile base at Lompoc, Calif.

Individuals and groups who want to take part in the demonstrations (or in future activities) may write to or call the following offices:

New England—Russell Johnson, 1 Mercer Circle, Cambridge 38, Mass. UNiversity 4-3150.
New York City—Information Office, 128 W. 42d St. (betw. Broadway and Sixth Av.) WIsconsin 7-6308.
Philadelphia—Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut St., Phila 3, RIttenhouse 6-4070.
Chicago—American Friends Service Committee, 59 E. Madison, Chicago 3, CEntral 6-2663.
San Francisco—Ben Seaver, 1830 Sutter St., San Francisco 15, WEst 1-1825.

A GUARDIAN EXCLUSIVE ON-THE-SPOT REPORT

Frondizi's fraud: The big sellout in Argentina

By Harvey O'Connor
Special to the Guardian

BUENOS AIRES

IN ARGENTINA the watchword of the government is austerity. Particularly for the working class. The price of meat is up 300% in the past two months, and for the Argentines, this is murder. Argentina, next to Uruguay, has boasted the highest meat consumption in the world: per capita, a pound a day. Bread is up and so is wine, and to make bad matters worse, the wine is being adulterated with water.

Austerity, however, is only for the lower classes. At Plata del Mar, the 2,000 hotels are filled to the last room while tens of thousands of well-heeled Argentinos bathe in the blue Atlantic in this hot summer weather. The overflow goes to Punta del Este, to the glittering sands of Uruguay's famed beach resort. So heavy is the traffic that they queue up for hours in Montevideo to get steamship and plane space back to Buenos Aires.

The Argentine scene reflects one of the most sordid swindles in history. Only last May Dr. Arturo Frondizi was inaugurated as President on the ticket of the Intransigent Civic Radical Union, with the solid backing of the labor movement. His pamphlet, **The Struggle Against Imperialism,** part of his bigger book on **Petroleum and Politics**, would have made an acceptable textbook for a Marxist classroom. Friend of the workers, foe of Yankee domination, defender of YPF, the national oil company, Dr. Frondizi naturally enjoyed the support even of the Communist Party.

THE BIG SWITCH: Less than a year later, the headquarters of most Argentine unions are occupied by the military, a hundred or more of their leaders are in Army guardhouses, a state of siege prevails which means that union and political meetings are verboten. And Dr. Frondizi has signed contracts with various U.S. and European firms, good for ten to 40 years, for the exploitation of Argentina's oil on terms which he had blasted in his famous book (no longer available in Buenos Aires bookstores.)

For signing a similar contract with Standard Oil of California, dictator Juan Peron was repudiated by his own followers in 1955 and forced to flee to a Paraguayan gunboat in the River Plate. Peron is now a guest of fellow-dictator Trujillo in the so-called Dominican Republic. Dr. Frondizi, foxier, first gave a pay raise to the Army and then called on the generals when the petroleum workers and other unions struck in protest against contracts which assigned some of Argentina's richest oil reserves to foreigners.

It is known that while Frondizi was barnstorming up and down Argentina denouncing imperialist oil companies in his campaign for the Presidency, he was already negotiating secretly with them. While Peron made the mistake of submitting the Standard of California contract, creating the "Little Republic of Patagonia," to Congress for ratification, Frondizi has taken personal responsibility for the new contracts, and skipped Congressional ratification.

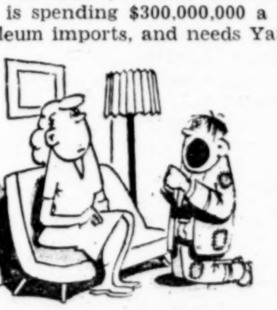
WALL ST.
SHARP
2
CURVES

RICH BUT BROKE: Whether the contracts are worth the paper they are written on will be determined within the next few years. Everyone—excepting the usual 10% in the upper brackets—says that the contracts are null and void both under the Constitution and the Petroleum Law, which reserve the exploitation of Argentina's reserves, the tenth most important in the world, to YPF, the government oil company, and to Gas del Estado, also a government company.

SHALL WE RETIRE TO THE VAULT AND TALK PROFITS?
Arturo Frondizi, Argentina's President (with glasses) is shown shaking hands with Eugene Black, president of the World Bank. Looking on with anticipation are John J. McCloy, board chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank (l.) and Howard C. Shepherd, chairman of the First National City Bank (2nd from right).

Not just Communists and Socialists and radicals and independents but some of the highest officials in these public enterprises and in the Government itself agree that the contracts are invalid and subject to repudiation. Standard of New Jersey, Shell, Standard of Indiana and of California, and other companies once again have outraged the pride and self-respect of a Latin American nation and can blame only themselves when the inevitable, as in Venezuela, befalls them.

The contracts were signed, say Frondizi's new defenders, because the country is broke, is spending $300,000,000 a year for petroleum imports, and needs Yankee dollars to keep alive. But Argentina is one of the richest countries in the world, for its size. Buenos Aires, only a few years back, was the Paris of America, with its handsome boulevards and parks, its world-famous Colon opera house, its myriad sidewalk cafes and elegant restaurants—a preeminently bourgeois paradise (but reminding one of Chicago a few blocks from the boulevards).



London Daily Mirror
"I need you desperately—you and your money."

AWAITING THE DAY: Then came Peron, who glorified the shirtless worker, thumbed his nose at the landed oligarchy, twisted the tail of the British Lion, which had roared across the River Plate for a century or more, and introduced the welfare state as well as bankrupting the country. Frightened by the genie of Labor he had conjured, Peron turned more and more to the Army and the Church and finally, in desperation, to Standard of California—and then he was finished.

The heavy heritage of Peronism hangs over Argentina today. The workers are still "peronistas" in that they want the social justice that Peron promised them, even if they no longer want him. That's why they voted for Frondizi, who promised them social justice without Peron. And now the troops occupy the offices of the "62" unions, including the oil workers, because they struck when they found out that Frondizi was giving them austerity and repudiating his anti-imperialist platform. The military also occupy the offices of the "19" unions, some of them under Communist leadership. The "32" unions—mainly government employes—are not occupied.

Now the Argentine workers, laboring under a state of siege that denies them freedom of expression, await the day of unity. Split in three different camps, with many of the "peronista" unions under the control of the typical Peronist gangsters and racketeers (for Peron did not believe in union elections and installed his own henchmen in leading union offices), and with both the "peronista" and Communist newspapers suppressed, they face heavy obstacles. Their growing misery, under the atrocious austerity program, may yet bring the kind of upheaval that sent dictator Perez Jimenez packing out of Caracas a year ago on the fastest plane available.

STORM-CHARGED CLIMATE: Argentine workers do a lot of wondering and a lot of asking about their union brothers in the U.S. Why isn't the voice of North American labor raised against this new type of dictatorship? Is it possible to brush off the working class of Argentina as "peronist" and Communist so easily, as is done in the press of the U.S.?

The truth is that in the so-called "62" unions, it is not Peron but the principles of social justice he demagogically proclaimed that the workers want. Nor are all the members of the "19" unions Communists—as a matter of fact the Communists are not particularly strong in Argentina despite their leadership in some unions.

For the time being, it can be said that the workers of Argentina are demoralized, stunned by the defection of Frondizi, hamstrung by union officials they never elected, cowed by the naked force of machine guns.

The summer weather of Argentina is hot and sultry; at night heat lightning flashes across the skies and clouds obscure the Southern Cross. And then occasionally the storm bursts and the heavens let loose. The political climate is a good bit the same.

The price for U.S. support of oil diplomacy will be unbearably heavy — for the United States, for the North American labor movement which holds its tongue in these times, and for the Argentine people who so desperately want a better life.

NIEBUHR SEEKING COMMUTATION

Theological leaders in plea for Sobell

A NEW PLEA for commuting the sentence of Morton Sobell has been made by Reinhold Niebuhr, professor of ethics at the Union Theological Seminary, New York, and five other distinguished figures in the fields of religion and law. The statement said the signers believed a commutation would "demonstrate our national faith" in our freedom and way of life. April 1 is the 8th anniversary of Sobell's 30-year sentence. The other signers were:

John C. Bennett, dean, and Daniel Day Williams, professor of theology, Union Theological Seminary; Paul Ramsey, professor of religion, Princeton; Gerhard O. W. Mueller, associate professor of law, and Edmond Cahn, professor of law, New York Univ.; Jerome Nathanson, administrative leader, N.Y. Society for Ethical Culture.

The statement said in part:

"The undersigned are and consistently have been convinced anti-Communists. None are associated with any organization, committee, or group of any kind concerned either with the case of the Rosenbergs or that of Sobell. After study of the case, we believe that the following considerations warrant a commutation.

"1. Sobell was never implicated with atomic espionage for which the Rosenbergs were convicted.

"2. The case against him is vague in content and slender in proof.

"3. The emotions surrounding the trial of the Rosenbergs and the fact that Sobell's case was tried with theirs made it difficult to separate the two cases and to recognize the very different character of the two charges and the evidence introduced to support them respectively.

"4. Sobell has already served, with good conduct, nearly eight years in prison, six of them in Alcatraz."

In San Francisco on March 13, at a dinner in his honor, Rev. Peter McCormack, former Protestant chaplain of Alcatraz, received a petition with the signatures of 39 West Coast ministers and rabbis. They joined him in initiating a nationwide clergymen's appeal for justice for Morton Sobell.

The superfluous man

RISING PRODUCTIVITY is having a two-fold impact on the economy: it's reducing labor unit costs and, with companies doing a bigger volume of business, is already boosting profits.

It's slowing the rehiring of laid off workers, creating fewer job openings for new entrants to the labor force and keeping unemployment at higher levels than during earlier post-war recoveries.

—**Business Week**

●

NEW PLANTS pay off in soaring output with less man-power. Today's 11.9 million workers turn out 35% more than 12.7 million did in 1948.

—Wall Street **Journal**

●

MAN-HOUR PRODUCTIVITY has resumed a dramatic climb . . . The spurt in productivity also affects the outlook for employment . . . profit margins are widening as output advances faster than man-hours.

—**Fortune** Magazine

BOOKS

Sally Belfrage's view of Moscow

ONE EVENING IN 1957 in response to an invitation from the GUARDIAN's Editor-in-Exile, I knocked on the door of his home in London. A very attractive young girl opened it wide and, with a friendliness and frankness which I still remember, introduced herself as Sally Belfrage. In our subsequent stay in Moscow during the Youth Festival, and more so during our six weeks in China, I saw that same friendly frankness and attractive personality at work.

And now months later, with the hoopla of the Festival past, and with added Russian experience in depth, Sally has added it all up for us in an important and helpful book. **A Room in Moscow*** is her account of the Russian people she met during the five months she lived and worked there.

Lest we forget, it is not an easy thing for the average foreigner to set one's self up in Moscow. "One needed three things, without one of which the other two were impossible. The first was a job, then a place to live, then a sponsoring organization. A sponsoring organization says that it's out of the question because you have no job. If you find a job they say no good we have nowhere for you to live. If someone is willing to put you up, you can't get a permit from the police to reside in Moscow without a sponsoring organization."

HAVING OVERCOME these initial barriers, and with a job which gave her enough leisure to pursue her interests, the author settled in. Granted she didn't live as the Russians do (she had a room all to herself in space-hungry Moscow) nor meet all "types," yet she managed to get a lot closer to some Russians than the majority of our delegations, journalists, and diplomats of whatever political stripe. The result of her efforts is a thoroughly straightforward, engaging and unpretentious report of one person's intensive encounter with some Russian people. ("I never saw a collective farm, a factory, or even the mausoleum.")

In her concern to discover "the people who lived within the system," Sally Belfrage gives us chapter and verse for the Russian bureaucracy and inefficiency, for fear, cynicism, and hypocrisy. Along with this are the people with scarred memories of war and starvation, resolute in the necessity for peace, and their children—"the best dressed, best fed, best entertained, best everything."

SALLY BELFRAGE
"What amazing extremes . . ."

This two-sidedness is the point, I think, and the importance of the book. Sally Belfrage's experiences underscore one reason why we have had so many contradictory reports about the one Soviet Union (and still do). Lacking the circumstantial and "close up" view of the ordinary Russian such as this book gives, many Americans could believe that the difference between a **pro** and **con** view of the Soviet Union could be attributed to the ideology or preconceptions of the reporter. We had little information which could help us to see that "both sides" were reflecting aspects of a complex of human responses (and specifically "Russian" responses) to the one declared goal.

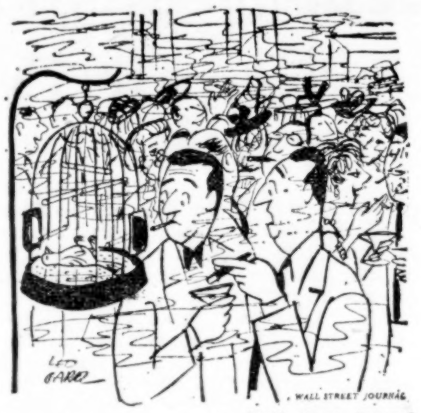
THE PROBLEM was pertinent even on the spot. "Somehow, inevitably, I thought, one of the two sides would predominate and I would see clearly what kind of place it was. Wonderful or horrible. This, I suppose, was mainly tied up to political conceptions, because I, like most people, thought first of a system of government when I thought of Russia." Today we are learning to know better.

During the past few years we have been given enough evidence to correct oversimplifications of the past. The Soviet Union has been both a land with fear and oppression and a land of hope and social progress. No "either . . . or" will do because all the time it has really been "both . . . and," and Sally Belfrage has helped us to see this unmistakably at close hand. "If I learned nothing more about the Russians, I did begin to understand what diversity there was, what amazing extremes, what turmoil and ferment." She did, of course, learn a lot more and in her summing up has drawn mature conclusions.

There were 160 young Americans at the Festival in Moscow, 43 of whom went on to China. All of us have spent a lot of time interpreting those experiences to ourselves and to whoever would listen. The remark has often been made: "You ought to write a book." Well, Sally did. Even if we have to skip, in charity, the "perfectly grand, simply marvelous, terribly mad" type phrases, and even if the author herself is aware that she hasn't "done very well on the side of the millions of normal, well-adjusted Muscovites," nevertheless, I for one, am grateful. Not often enough these days do 21-year-olds bother to tell us in writing how and why they came to join the human race, this goodly but embattled family of mankind.

—**(Rev.) Warren H. McKenna**

**A ROOM IN MOSCOW, by Sally Belfrage. Reynal & Co., 221 E. 49 St., N.Y. 17. 186 pp. $3.50.*



Wall Street Journal
"Air must be getting bad in here."

Book notes

AN OLD FRIEND, Dr. Curtis MacDougall of Northwestern University school of journalism and, in 1948, Illinois chairman of the Progressive Party, has brought the record up to date on that most fascinating form of man's trifling with the facts, **Hoaxes.** His book runs 347 pages in a $1.75 paperback the same size as Liberty Book Club's edition of **The Power Elite.** There are 23 illustrations, and the stories behind hundreds of such legends as the **Mona Lisa** at the Louvre being a fake; how there is a fortune waiting whoever can prove to be a direct descendant of Sir Francis Drake; and how the medics screamed "menace to health" when the first bathtub was introduced into America in 1842. Order from Dover Publications, 920 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

P.S. Curtis MacDougall is still hunting a publisher for his monumental history of the 1948 Progressive Party.

THE TORCH OF LIBERTY, Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith's story of 25 years of work of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, will go on sale formally April 16 at a testimonial reception to Miss Smith tendered by the ACPFB and friends at the Hotel Belmont Plaza in New York City. The reception, which will also honor Abner Green, for 22 years ACPFB executive-secretary, will cost $2. The book price is $5.

YUGOSLAVIA'S TITO (r.) WITH POLAND'S GOMULKA
Tito's problem: Can one socialist country go it alone?

YUGOSLAVIA'S PROGRAM

The lone wolf of socialism

YUGOSLAVIA'S WAY* begins with an extended survey of economic and political relations in the contemporary world. The second chapter deals with the struggle for socialism under the new conditions. Chapter Three surveys Yugoslavia's foreign policy in the face of present-day international relations. The next five chapters describe the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia; the economic and political foundations of Yugoslav socialist construction; the socio-economic system; the Yugoslav system of government, and relations among the various peoples of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia's Program describes the background and the early stages of socialist construction in a country with sharply limited resources, a heritage of feudal institutions and a population with a limited experience of science, technology, industrial organization and political self-government. The Program lays particular stress on the working class "as the leading social force" in sharp revolutionary conflicts, in parliamentary and other relatively peaceful forms of struggle; on the importance of party loyalty and discipline; on the historical role of the Soviet Union as the pioneer in building socialism, and on the necessity for each people to follow its own path to socialism.

THIS LAST POINT, involving local self-determination in the building of socialism, is frequently and emphatically affirmed. The title of the Program: Yugoslavia's Way, underscores the point. Some 900,000,000 people are busily engaged in socialist construction. Yugoslavia, with its population of less than 20,000,000, makes up only 2% of this total, yet Yugoslavia's way is repeatedly emphasized.

During the 1939-45 war, Yugoslavia was first among the smaller European states to break away from Nazi domination and begin building socialism. In the interval it has made notable advances in socialist construction. The Program under review and the experiences of the past 15 years should focus attention on the over-all problem of centralism and localism. Social relationships lie between two poles.

One, the pole of independence and self-determination, fragments a community into autonomous local units, competing and ultimately conflicting. At the opposite pole are the coordination and unification of specialized units into a whole made up of interdependent parts. Yugoslavia's Program keeps that country close to the pole of independence and self-determination. Certainly there are advantages and satisfactions in going it alone, but in building socialism piecemeal there is danger of "balkanized" socialist construction which will parallel and perhaps duplicate the fragmentation and localism which have proved to be such an obstacle to the social development of East Europe and West Asia.

—**Scott Nearing**

**YUGOSLAVIA'S WAY, Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Translated by Stoyan Pribechevich. Foreword by Richard Jaffe. All Nations Press, 660 First Av., New York 16, 263 pp. $4.50.*

Jane Speed dies in Puerto Rico

JANE SPEED ANDREU, 49, long a leader in the trade union field and in the struggle for women's rights, died on Mar. 15 at Monte Bravo, Yuaco, Puerto Rico. She was held in such high esteem by Puerto Ricans that the schools and stores in her community closed in mourning. Cause of death was a cerebral hemorrhage.

Many friends in the U.S. knew Jane Speed as a participant with her mother, Marga Speed, for many years in the civil rights battles in the South. At one time, they managed the Workers Book Store in Birmingham, Ala. Jane was indicted under the Smith Act after she went to Puerto Rico, but the charges against her were dismissed.

Miss Speed was a descendant of Joshua Speed, a member of Abraham Lincoln's cabinet and, on the maternal side, of George Washington's personal physician. She is survived by her husband, Cesar Andreu Iglesias, twice a winner of Puerto Rico's award for the best novel by a Puerto Rican, an 11-year-old son, her mother and an adopted daughter.

Fall-out report

(Continued from Page 1)

with a report revising its estimate of fall-out time to four years. But both reports were marked "Confidential—Restricted Data," so they could not be made public.

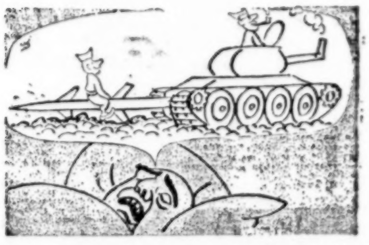
In releasing the report Anderson said: "In layman's language it looks like strontium-90 isn't staying up there as long as AEC told us it would, and the fall-out is greatest on the United States. Perhaps this information may account, in part, for the recent higher readings of radioactivity in soils and plants."

On March 13 the AEC announced the results of a study placing fall-out time at between five and ten years—although it had, in addition to Loper's report, a study of its own estimating fall-out time at three years.

INADEQUATE CHECKS: On the question of the level of strontium-90 in food, checks are made in selected cities by the AEC; the U.S. Public Health Service covers milk, air and water. But the number of cities covered and the size of the samples are woefully inadequate for an accurate study.

Several non-government agencies have conducted supplementary studies. In the past six months these are some of the findings:

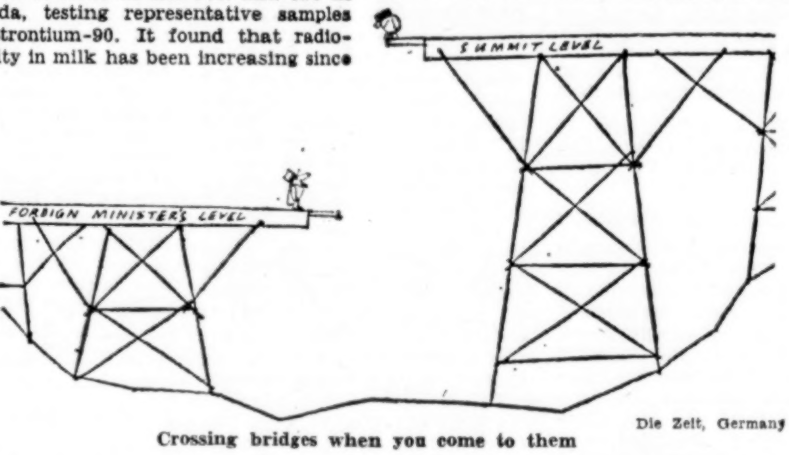
- A University of Minnesota study showed that radioactivity in wheat in that area was one and one-half times the maximum permissible rate. Measurements in barley and soybeans were equally high.
- In Missouri and North Dakota strontium-90 levels in milk hit all-time high levels. When a monitoring station in Mandan, N.D., reported record levels, there were suggestions of a milk boycott—until AEC officials arrived to reassure the town.
- A University of North Dakota study showed the highest radiation levels in the state's milk of any place in the world. It also published a map showing how radioactive clouds blow directly from the Nevada testing grounds.



Tvorba, Prague

The armament maker's nightmare

POTENTIAL HAZARD: But the most comprehensive milk survey was conducted by Consumers Union, an independent non-partisan testing organization. It covered 48 cities in the U.S. and two in Canada, testing representative samples for strontium-90. It found that radioactivity in milk has been increasing since 1954, particularly in northern cities. The general average, it said, was more than 30% higher than official estimates. It concluded: "There is a potential hazard."



Die Zeit, Germany

Crossing bridges when you come to them

To the alarming reports the AEC has responded with indifference. AEC member Dr. Willard F. Libby said: "The general average food level is an important matter, but we can say that this level is well below the maximum permissible level." He added that a person would have to eat a ton of Minnesota wheat at one sitting to reach the danger point.

But Libby's official calm seemed particularly unpersuasive because the maximum levels are arbitrary figures established by the Natl. Committee on Radiation Protection.

They were computed with the knowledge that strontium-90 is retained in the body for periods up to 40 years. At a point it attacks bone tissue and causes bone cancer or leukemia (cancer of the blood). Particularly affected is the fetal tissue in pregnant women. Maximum levels are arbitrary assumptions that there is a "threshold" below which effects are insignificant.

WIDE CRITICISM: Currently the working maximum level is 80 Strontium Units. But Dr. Lauriston S. Taylor, chairman of the NCRP, announced last month that his committee was considering a new level at one-tenth of that standard. Swedish scientists have been suggesting this level for some time.

But no matter the level, every time a bomb is exploded, some people in the world will become afflicted with cancer or leukemia and the genes of others will carry forward to future generations the sins of the fathers.

Criticism of the AEC has come from many sources. Russell H. Morgan, professor of radiology at Johns Hopkins U., said: "It is unfortunate that the responsibility for health and safety is in the agency which is developing atomic energy." He called for a broad program to control and measure total radiation being received from fall-out, medical treatment and industrial atomic devices.

In the Senate Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) charged that the Commission "has been playing down the dangers of radioactive fall-out as it pursued its weapons program." A good deal of information, he added, "is being held back because it casts doubt on some of the earliest statements of Government officials" on the danger of weapons tests. He added that the rising fall-out level "means that efforts to halt nuclear weapons testing must continue to be pursued vigorously."

Consumers Union found the government sampling of food and drink inadequate. It suggested extended coverage to at least ten more cities with wider and more representative samples.

STOP THE EXPLOSIONS: But Dr. Charles Dunham, head of the AEC Division of Biology and Medicine, said that an increased monitoring program was too expensive and could not be justified by what would be learned.

Last week the UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation opened a new session. It will hear the latest fall-out reports and discuss lowering maximum levels. Last year it was in unanimous agreement that "even in the smallest doses" radioactive fall-out was a hazard to mankind.

In May a Congressional subcommittee headed by Chet Holifield (D-Calif.) will begin an investigation of radiation hazards and the contradictions between the AEC position and other evidence.

Consumers Union concluded: "It is the diplomat who holds the key to the solution of the base problem: cessation of nuclear explosions in the atmosphere." But last week it seemed time for people to get angry.

A shadow over the country

GENERAL MOTORS, U.S. Steel, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Du Pont, Metropolitan Life, Chase-Manhattan Bank (and) General Electric . . . and a handful of other billionaire and near-billionaire private corporations . . . are among the most powerful institutions . . . in America, without democratic sanction of any kind. They have factories and offices all over the world, thousands of them, lobbies in our state and federal capitols, and legislators, public officials and dependents who are deeply indebted to them. Giant corporations employ, directly and indirectly, more than half of the total 64,000,000 presently employed, and they cast their shadow over the entire country. They make regular payments to practically every newspaper, magazine, and radio and television station and network in the land all of which are therefore under obligation to them and ready upon slight provocation to rise to their defense. . . . They have writers, professors, reporters and broadcasters on their payrolls, many known to the public only as "impartial observers." They can create "ghost towns" by moving manufacturing operations from one location to another. They can decide who is to be employed, where, how long, and how much each one is to be paid. They can and have on occasion assumed the wholly political prerogative of deciding whether or not an employee is loyal to the country, in violation of his constitutional rights. They set profit rates and prices and decide whether or not the public is to be victimized by inflation. They can readily induce recession or restrain prosperity. General Motors alone has an annual income of more than ten billion dollars. This is several times the income of the sovereign "Empire" state of New York. More money flows through the coffers of General Motors alone than is ever seen by all the governments in forty states in the Union.

—**T. K. Quinn,** former vice president, General Electric, as quoted in the **Social Questions Bulletin.**

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U. S. drops charges against UE

WHILE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities was grilling union officials in Pittsburgh, the Dept. of Justice was conceding that it could not sustain its charge that their union was "Communist-infiltrated." The UE announced March 23 that Justice Dept. lawyers had filed a motion before the Subversive Activities Control Board to dismiss a four-year-old charge against the 150,000-member union.

"By this motion," said a UE official, "the Dept. of Justice admits finally that it has no case. In point of fact, it never had a case in the first place and we never doubted for a moment that the case would be dropped as it now has been."

Among the reasons cited by the Dept. of Justice for moving to drop the case was the unavailability of Government witnesses due to "death, physical incapacity and additional factors." The additional factors were not spelled out.

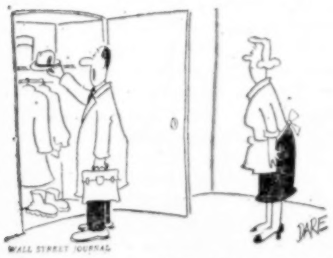
Un-Americans

(Continued from Page 1)

significance of the attack on the trade unionists. With 504,000 workers unemployed in Pennsylvania and 117,000 in the Pittsburgh area, the unions are demanding action by business and government to cope with unemployment.

NEAT TIMING: In contract talks with the U.S. Steel Corp., union officials are demanding a cut in the work week without a reduction in pay to put jobless steel workers back in the plants. Company spokesmen have already called the proposal "socialistic" and are reported to be preparing for a lockout.

The Committee's attempt to smear the UE could only have the effect of weakening the public reputation and the bargaining position of all unions, including the giant United Steelworkers of America. This was recognized by other labor groups in a letter sent to the Pittsburgh **Post-Gazette** by Local 224, United Rubber Workers, AFL-CIO, exposing the anti-labor voting records of the Committee members. No comment, however, came from Steelworkers officials.



Wall Street Journal

"And believe me, I intend to spend a lot more time with you and the children from now on—I got fired."

JOBLESS TENANT: Among the witnesses called were two officers of the Independent Voters League, whose leaflet opposing the Committee had been reproduced as an ad in the **Post-Gazette.** Both challenged the Committee's authority and asserted their right to withhold answers to its questions under the Fifth Amendment.

When a local daily discovered that one of the witnesses was an unemployed worker, living with his wife and a year-old daughter in a low-rent Federal housing project, it began a daily incitement for his eviction. The project manager said the family had been "such good tenants that I'm afraid I'd have trouble making eviction proceedings stand up in court." But the pressure was insistent and C. Howard McPeak, Allegheny County Housing Authority Director, announced he had contacted Washington for advice.

Steve Nelson, former Western Pennsylvania head of the Communist Party, was a witness. Asked to comment on the testimony of the FBI informers, Nelson replied: "I have faced bigger and smaller stoolpigeons in my time. They testify the way they're paid, and I won't dignify their testimony with an answer." He accused the Committee of "hitting back at the Supreme Court," and drew from the Pittsburgh **Sun-Telegraph** the comment: "Nelson told the Committee nothing except his opinion of them, which was low."

THE FOREIGN BORN: Another phase of the Committee's investigation dealt with foreign-born citizens. Seven naturalized Americans were subpenaed — all of whom have been under denaturalization or deportation proceedings. Four had apparently won their cases in the courts; but under current law no foreign-born person has "permanent" tenure in the country, so they are subject to new trials.

The Committee said its purpose in calling the foreign-born witnesses was to help draft legislation to get around a recent Supreme Court ruling. The Court held last year that before initiating a deportation proceeding the Government must show cause in court why its action is justified. Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, said of the Pittsburgh hearing: "No conceivable light was thrown on any proposed legislation." All seven foreign-born witnesses asserted the First and Fifth Amendment.

THE BISHOP'S WORDS: In TV interviews, newspaper stories and ads, and in speeches before the Inquiry Club of Pittsburgh U. and other groups, Foreman carried the ECLC campaign for abolition of the Un-American Committee to many thousands of residents who had not been reached before. He reminded Pitt students of a speech made some years ago by a leading clergyman of Pittsburgh, Bishop Lloyd C. Wicke, describing the Committee's procedure. The Bishop had said:

"The questioning is often designed not to discover the truth but to leave behind a trail of suspicion. The Big Lie is used with a skill which is unbelievable. The net result is a sham, a travesty, a delusion, a nightmare of skilled political chicanery."

The Pittsburgh American Civil Liberties Union chapter in an ad in the local press expressed its deep concern "when such investigation becomes a device for intimidation . . . suppression of expressions of opinion."

OUT OF BOUNDS: Criticism of the Committee extended to the editorial columns of the **Post-Gazette** when, on the first day of the hearing, staff director Richard Arens prompted two of his prize informers to reveal what had transpired in a private session between subpenaed witnesses and their attorney.

The **Post-Gazette** charged that "the subcommittee in at least one line of questioning grossly overstepped the bounds of justice and fair play" in violating the confidential relationship between the lawyer and his clients. "It should not be necessary to remind the committee" it said, "that it is the accused and the suspects whom the Bill of Rights is designed to protect."

One observer told the GUARDIAN that the atmosphere in the hearing was markedly different from that which prevailed in previous ones. While the hearing room was jammed, the spectators did not express the hostility to the witnesses which was common on past occasions.

In former hearings and trials, Pittsburgh-area informers have been lionized. During the latest foray, the informers were noticed standing alone in the corridors during recess, "looking for someone to approach them and shake their hands."

INFORMER OF THE YEAR: A hand was extended to Hamp J. Golden who revealed that he joined the CP 13 years ago to spy for the FBI. The Veterans of Foreign Wars named him citizen of the year, announced it would give him a plaque at a Loyalty Day dinner May 2, and offered him a free life-time membership in the post of his choice. The VFW had previously rejected Golden's application because of his progressive activities.

The wife of one witness went bowling on the evening of the day her husband testified. Her companions were about 20 ladies from the neighborhood. She reported that their only conversation was about unemployment, the threat of a steel strike, the high cost of living and a tragic bus accident which had occurred the day before.

The ladies, it seemed, would not let the gentlemen from Washington divert them from the problems which are bread and butter and life and death for the families of the coal miners and steel workers in the Allegheny hills and valleys.

PUBLICATIONS

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PANORAMA U.S.S.R.—Lecture by **Ed Shafe** film authority returned from USSR, illustrated with biggest collection of Soviet documentary movies ever seen. Fri. Apr. 3. Come as early as 6 p.m. or as late as 7:30 and take in full program; last complete showing of films from 8 p.m. Hall C-2, 32 W. Randolph. Adm. $1. See **Moon Rocket, Sputniks,** many more!

LOS ANGELES

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH, April 3 through April 12—**8TH ANNUAL FESTIVAL OF THE ARTS.** Art exhibit, paintings, sculpture, crafts. April 4th at 8:30 p.m. **Eugene Loring's Dance Players.** April 11th, 8:30 p.m. Unitarian Church Choir presents **Earl Robinson's** "Lonesome Train" and other musical features. April 12th, 2:30 p.m. **Jenny Wells Vincent,** Folk Songs For Children. First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St. (half block East of Vermont). Call DU 1-1856 for information, or send for **Festival Brochure.**

MARTIN HALL will speak on the **BERLIN SITUATION,** Fri. April 3, 8:15 p.m. at 1559 Altivo Way. Admission 50c. Ausp. Echo Pk. Guardian Readers Club.

MINNEAPOLIS

TWIN CITIES
LABOR'S NEXT STEP—FROM UNION HALL TO CITY HALL
What: Opening speech of the mayoralty campaign
Who: William M. Curran, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor
Where: 322 Hennepin Av. 2nd floor
When: April 4th at 8 p.m.
Why: To hear a Socialist program for Minneapolis. (Social following meeting)

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Registration Begins This Week For The
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7 sessions, once weekly, at 6:45 or 8:30 from April 13 through May 28. Classes include: **"The Negro People, "Current Labor Problems," "Art and Dialectics," "Soviet Law & Democracy."** Teachers include: Herbert Aptheker, Irving Potash, Leon Josephson, Sidney Finkelstein, and others.
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JEWISH CURRENTS, April issue just out. Featuring Morris U. Schappes on Rumanian-Jewish immigration, Hersh Smoliar on the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, David Mathis on Sholem Aleichem in Film, and texts of Jewish Currents Conference papers discussing Jewish survival by Louis Harap, Max Rosenfeld and Alfred Henley. Single copies 35c; trial subscription 4 issues $1; yearly sub $3 USA, $3.50 elsewhere. **Jewish Currents,** 22 E. 17 St. New York 3, N.Y. Dept. G.

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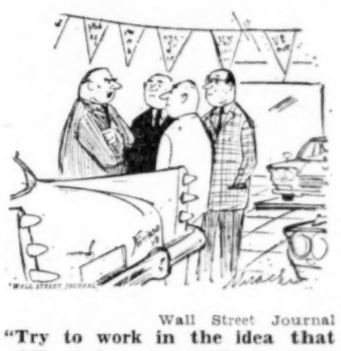
THE GALLERY

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSN. touched off a controversy among physicians when its **Journal** published an FBI "wanted" notice. Wanted was Martin L. Manson for allegedly violating the Bankruptcy Act by concealing $23,000 from his creditors. Doctors were told to be on the alert for him because he has a tumor which needs constant treatment. Dr. Manfred S. Guttmacher, psychiatrist and chief medical officer of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore, said in a letter to the **Journal:** "Physicians have a high sense of social responsibility, but this does not call for them to act as special agents of the police . . . If the present policy is continued, the physician's examining room will resemble a rural post office with its walls plastered with the mugs of wanted criminals." . . . John T. Connor, president of Merck Pharmaceuticals, warned a Senate Committee that the U.S.S.R. is using public health aid as a cold war weapon. He told how his company had set up a penicillin plant for a price for the Indian government and was hesitating to accept a second offer to build a plant for streptomycin. Along came the Russians, he said, and offered to set up the plant at their own expense. What could his company do, he asked, but accept the Indians' offer?

AT A LUNCHEON WITH DR. AND MRS. W. E. B. DUBOIS at a villa in Hankow, Mao Tse-tung said: "The colored peoples of the world are no longer afraid. Cuba is a small nation of colored people but Cuba was not afraid. China is a large nation of colored people and China, too, is not afraid." . . . Jet air service between London and Moscow will begin in May . . . . Sears Roebuck's catalog offers mail order toupees in several styles, including crew-cut. In the catalog is a tape measure, a paper pattern for measuring head shape, an envelope to send back hair samples and instruction on how to figure toupee size . . . . Jack Anderson, Drew Pearson's associate, reports that "Zsa Zsa Gabor has been helping her millionaire fiance, Hal Hayes, soften up the bureaucrats who hand out military housing contracts." Hayes is reportedly trying to close an $18,000,000 deal for the Marine base at Camp Lejeune, N.C. According to Anderson, when Vice President Nixon met Zsa Zsa, "he gave her figure an appreciative glance and remarked, 'I imagine you are glad sack dresses have gone out of style.' 'Yes,' purred Miss Gabor, 'aren't you?' " . . . . Elizabeth Taylor's movies have been banned in Egypt because she bought $100,000 worth of Israel bonds recently. Mohammed Aly Nasseff, director of film censorship, said similar boycotts would be imposed against other movie figures who "help the Zionist cause." . . . The North Carolina legislature is considering a bill to the give the state authority to sterilize women who give birth to two or more children out of wedlock.



Wall Street Journal

"Try to work in the idea that while it is not exactly treason, there's something unpatriotic in buying a foreign car."

THE BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS reported to Congress: "The large rear windows on newer cars provide the drivers with a potentially much greater field of vision to the rear, but the sweeping tail fins tend to obscure rear vision in backing." It described the "projectile-like component of bumpers, projecting hoods and fender ornaments" as "largely non-functional and needless hazards to pedestrians." . . . Cora Brooks, a 17-year-old high school senior from New York, was assigned to accompany 34 students from around the world who are here as guests of the N.Y. **Herald Tribune.** It was believed that, as a contemporary, she could best explain the American point of view to the visitors. After several weeks with the foreign students Miss Brooks concluded: "My understanding of people has deepened greatly . . . . I must understand lots of things, I definitely want to. At first I didn't, but now I want to understand, I need to understand . . . . I have come to the realization that everyone from anywhere can get along—different groups, colors, sexes, racial backgrounds. I am unable to see the necessity of any type of war."

—Robert E. Light

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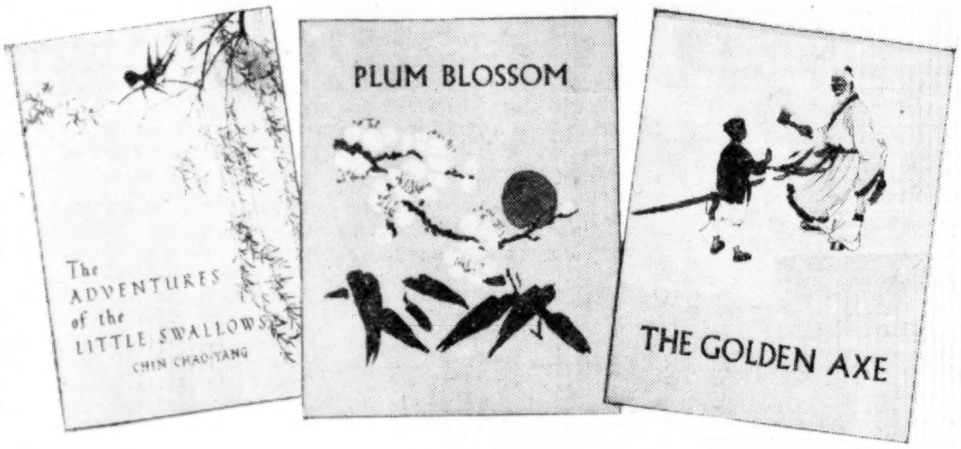

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

'The Uneasy Night'

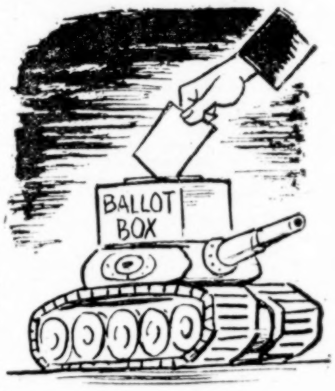
The GUARDIAN's Paris correspondent Anne Bauer recently made a short visit to Hamburg, Germany, and has recorded impressions which, she said, seemed "illuminating if not conclusive one way or the other."

HAMBURG

FLASHY POSTERS PLASTERED all over the city immediately caught the eye. In bold letters they said: "ARTISTS AGAINST THE A-BOMB" and "YOU TOO ARE RESPONSIBLE BEFORE YOUR CONSCIENCE." The impressive roster of signers was headed by Hamburg's Socialist mayor, Max Brauer. The posters announced a one-week anti-A-bomb show at Kurt Schumacher Haus named after the late socialist leader. The street was easy to find, the house more difficult: of a dozen passers-by, 11 were unable to point it out.

There were two rooms of drawings and paintings showing every conceivable present and future nuclear horror. At 8 p.m., only five people were there, all under 35. You wonder: Can it be that in a city of nearly 2,000,000 so few are interested? Then you think: How many cities in any Western country even **have** such a show—especially one sponsored by the mayor himself?

CONVERSATION with a truck driver in a local train turned out to be characteristically confusing, worth noting only because it was chillingly reminiscent of 1939.



The truck driver said: "Really, Hitler was not as bad as all that. He was for social progress, you know. He made only one mistake. He should never have started the war."

"But he could not have done without a war. That was part of his dogma, economic and political!"

"Maybe that's true, but . . ."

"And what about all the dead in the concentration camps and gas chambers? What about the extermination of the Jews?"

"Ah, now, he was wrong about killing the Jews. He should have merely removed them from key economic places."

DURING AN AFTER DINNER TALK, the case of Hamburg's anti-Semitic pamphleteer Friedrich Nieland and the judge who dismissed his case came up. A writer said: "There are no swastikas flying in Hamburg." This was amended by a woman doctor: "It would be absurd to pretend there are no more Nazis around. Take my old parents, nostalgic about the old regime. But they are 80 now. What counts are the young."

A newspaperman said: "What counts are the cadres. The Weimar Republic was sunk by its reactionary judges and high civil servants. We are about to go the same way. The shocking thing about the Nieland case was not that somebody wrote an anti-Semitic pamphlet or that a judge let him go. That can happen anywhere. The really alarming thing was that, when the judge was transferred to another town, it was possible to find and assemble 46 of his peers on short notice eager to approve the transfer and protect their colleague's job."

THE MERRY OLD WIVES OF HAMBURG: Two very old ladies casually sat down at our table in a pub, laughing merrily at the slightest occasion. The older lady had two sisters in East Germany. Asked how they liked it there, she said: "One is married to an 'activist.' **She** likes it very much. She tells me there is no more shortage of consumer goods there. The other is a bourgeois. **She** doesn't like it at all."

"Have you been to East Germany?"

"No. I don't want to live there. But I'd like to see what it's like. We don't know enough about them and they don't know much about us. It's always better to know."

THE TITLE OF THE FILM was **Uneasy Night.** It starred the lovely Swedish actress Ulla Jacobson. It was the most striking anti-war and the most courageous anti-Nazi film made in post-Hitler West Germany. "What is war but dirt and blood and hatred," says one character—a phrase not heard often in a West German film; and even less frequently such dialogue as: "It's too late to be simply against it. We should have been against it—and ACTED against it—ten years ago."

The audience sat silent through the film. It was hard to say whether they were moved, indifferent or wary. But there were people who made the film, and others who came to see it.

It is trite to say there are good people under bad governments in many places. The crucial question today is whether in West Germany, outside and beyond its government, something cleaner and fresher and more hopeful is in the making at the base. Or whether between Chancellor Adenauer's anti-Communist crusade, Bonn's "economic miracle" and NATO's itch for another war, it is once again—as the character in the film said—too late.

—Anne Bauer

Jacob Kahn

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The family of Jacob Kahn, an ardent reader and supporter of the GUARDIAN, would like to inform all his friends of his demise Jan. 3, 1959. He had devoted his entire life to the betterment of mankind and for peace. We pledge to continue where he left off.

Sarah, Margaret, Henry, Sam